2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
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i-fyalo). This is a term applied to the whole of the Bemba territory, but also used to describe the district under the rule of a particular chief. The Paramount and the territorial chiefs under him, such as Mwamba, Nkula, Nkolemfumu, Mpepo, Cikwanda, &c., each rule over a tract of country with more or less definite boundaries, which has its own name dating back to the very early days of the Bemba occupation.[1] Each of these districts is known as the *icalo* of such-and-such a chief. Some are sub-divided into smaller districts under the rule of a sub-chief. Thus the *icalo* may be defined as a political division, and its inhabitants have a certain economic unity since they all pay tribute to the one chief and expect to receive help, supernatural or material, from him.

Mpanga, the word used for 'bush', is also sometimes applied in a more restricted sense to mean the area immediately surrounding a headman's village, that is to say the few miles between one small stream and the next. The *bakabilo* or hereditary councillors of the Paramount, claim to be owners of their *mpanga* by right of descent from the first holders of their titles, who were appointed to the district by the first Citimukulu. Therefore they may not move their village beyond the distance between one river and the next. They claim supernatural powers over the area, and in some cases may prevent the chief from being carried through it.[2] But in the case of an ordinary headman the term *mpanga yandi* hardly means more than 'the neighbourhood of my village'.

Mpanga may also mean the strip of bush between one open marshy place and the next. This country is so well watered that a traveller along an inter-village path passes one tiny stream after another at intervals of four to five miles, and the Bemba make a rough calculation of distance by this means. 'We shall pass three *mpanga* and camp at a village in the fourth', they say, and the term gives some idea of the probable length of the journey.[3]

Cultivated land is divided into (*a*) *mputa*, or village mounds, a circular band about 300 yards across round the village, (*b*) *ifitemene* (sing. *icitemene*), the millet gardens which are cut in the bush each year, at first near the village and then farther and farther out until

[1] e.g. Inuna is the *icalo* of Mwamba, Icinga that of Nkula, &c.

[2] The Cimba, Mumuca, Citikafula, Kasenda, Cikutwe, all have this right since the sacred relics they possess are so powerful that they might harm the Paramount himself.

[3] C. Dobe records the same method of measuring the journey's length among the Lamba, *The Lambas*, 1931, p. 18.

territories generally in the capacity of sub-chiefs. Subject chiefs of alien stock, generally of Bisa origin, also hold some chieftainships particularly in the west.

Cases of disputed succession were decided by a meeting composed of members of the royal family and the *bakabilo* or hereditary councillors. Disputed successions and feuds between one chief and another were common in the old days.

The succession to Bisa chieftainships also goes from brother to brother and then to sister's son or sister's daughter's son, but the Bisa never reached the same degree of centralisation; they live in more scattered groups and, before the arrival of the Europeans, had no Paramount Chief. Little is known of the political structure of the Aushi and the Unga, but they have certainly not achieved a centralised government, and some of the smaller Aushi chiefs are living on tiny islands in the Bangweulu swamps.

THE MACHINERY OF CENTRALIZATION

The Bemba can be reckoned as a more or less centralized State in that its major chiefdoms are controlled by members of one royal family; its Paramount Chief had the command of the army and has the supreme control of supernatural power, the possession of the most sacred of the tribal relics and the right of appointment to lesser chiefdoms. He also provides the final judicial court of appeal.

The Paramount Chief and some of the biggest territorial chiefs have attached to them a group of hereditary officials who combine ritual with political and judicial functions. In the case of the Paramount Chief these officials, the *bakabilo*, number between 35 and 40 and form an advisory council on special matters of state. They include the hereditary officials in charge of the chief's relics (*bakeny*), the royal buriers and embalmers (*bafingo*) and a number of other officials carrying out special ritual functions in connection with the ceremonial of kingship. These *bakabilo* are in a very powerful position. They are hereditary heads of villages near the capital; they are immune from giving tribute to the chief; they used to wear special head-dresses; they must keep the same sex-taboos as the chief, and are buried in the central district under his control. The real *bakabilo* are those connected with the Paramount's court. They are in fact called "the *Bakaabo*". The *bakabilo* of the *citimukulu* bury all the major chiefs and they act as regents at the death of the Paramount; any matter of tribal importance, such as a succession dispute, is placed before them. They check the power of the Paramount, since they can, and sometimes do, refuse to perform the ritual on which he depends for the exercise of his power. Being hereditary officials with lines of descent as old as that of the Paramount Chief himself they cannot be removed at will. They form a central tribal council but not a public assembly such as the *pitso* of the Sotho-speaking peoples.

Each chief has certain executive officials to support him. These include the *bafilolo* or heads of the divisions of a capital, who maintain peace in the royal village, organise tribute labour and allocate land for cultivation. They are appointed from among the chief's own favourites and supporters. Each big chief had formerly a number of captains or *bashika* of whom some were hereditary and most were appointed at the chief's will.

Introduction.

The Bemba, the largest tribe in Northern Rhodesia, have been studied extensively and intensively of recent years and a large body of published material is available for consultation. I do not think it necessary then to preface these notes with any sociological introduction. A list of some of the relevant works is given at the end. The two by Dr. Richards are especially concerned with the political structure of the tribe. (1), (2). 114

The appointment of chiefs lies primarily with the Paramount in Council, which is the Superior Native Authority, but as is natural, Government retain the power of overriding this organisation at any time. This power is normally exercised through the Council and has taken the form on several recent occasions of very full discussions between the Council and Government before a final choice was made. Government has also encouraged the Paramount and his Council to consider a reduction in the number of petty chiefs, with the result that they have recommended that certain of them no longer be recognised. 622 643

It is essential for the Government to keep a strict watch over appointments because each one affects not only one particular chieftainship but usually several others as well. For, generally speaking, the heirachy of Bemba chieftainships is graded, in several distinct sections, and the death of one means not only the promotion of a lower chief into the gap but often several moves up of still lower chiefs, resulting in the appointment of only one new man, and he the lowest. The moves often spread over several administrative districts and one of the aims of this paper is to give District Officers some indication of how the main moves are made and what change of chiefly personnel they may expect. I hope also it will give them some indication as to whether personal or tribal politics are entering into and prejudicing appointments. Such events are very common, because, although the system is complicated it is also very flexible, and personal animosities and friendships have often upset what appeared to be a traditional sequence of promotion. 622

The system of succession is very intricate to the outsider and a study of it is essential. There is no doubt that if Government did not discuss nominations with the Paramount and his council, and lend support when necessary, the various successions would present a very tangled skein to the ordinary District Officer. For not only do the previously mentioned influences operate but the hereditary councillors, *Bakabilo*, who form the ultimate authority, have often switched inheritances out of their course, and from older branches of the clan to younger ones. These actions have not only disinherited incapable or objectionable heirs but have sometimes been made with the object of giving good posts to distant members of younger branches, so that all members of the clan can share honour. Such power is easy to abuse and the Council is, of course, open to influence. Unless we fully understand the flexibility of a system that attempts to satisfy the demands of such a large clan, many choices of successor may appear very puzzling. At the same time this very characteristic also could give Government both opportunity and precedent for exercising influence. In spite of the many apparent aberrations from the rigid principles of succession, the tribal elders do keep very careful check on all the cross currents of successful 622 645

622 645 influence and upon the discretionary alterations of descent, and they always come back again on to the main line, at least as regards the royal clan, after any short dash up a side line that has been made necessary by influence or by politics.

121 Government at the moment cannot follow all these threads, and at least once in the past an enquiry had to be held to disentangle them. This was in 1924 and I understand that it took Mr. Willis, the Provincial Commissioner, Kasama, nearly nine months to collect the evidence and give a ruling as to who should be Chitimukulu VIII. The object of this paper then is to provide an administrative guide not only to what should happen normally, but also to point out moves that contain the germs of future complications. I deal very fully with the principles of succession so that when the present holders of chieftainships are dead the traditional rules expounded here can still be consulted. I also point out tendencies that might simplify and stabilise the succession to the Paramountcy if the Superior Native Authority ever come to consider such objectives. Finally I indicate which are traditionally the least important of the chieftainships, as this has a bearing on the present Government policy of encouraging the abolition of redundant posts.

643 There is not one direct line of promotion through all Bemba chieftainships culminating in the Paramountcy, but there are several distinct branches even in the royal lines, and some of them are not usually connected by way of interchange of personnel. Some branches of the royal clan are for practical purposes complete in themselves, but there are others which are connected one with the other. No wonder the system is involved.

622 There are at the moment of writing 32 Bemba chiefs acknowledged by Government, and most of them are subject to change and promotion along one of the several branches of chieftainship.

611 622 Descent and succession are matrilineal. The totem of the Paramount and other chiefs descended from sisters of Paramounts is the crocodile, and these men are known as *Mwinang'andu* (sing). I refer to them simply as the royal Chiefs. But some of the most materially important chieftainships of to-day are not held by *Benang'andu* (plural) and there are grown-up men of royal blood working on the mines and elsewhere who will never hold a Bemba chieftainship. The fact of belonging to the royal clan makes a man eligible for a chieftainship, but whether he gets one depends upon whether he is born of a senior royal sister. For there never were enough chieftainships to go round all the clan. I use the word sister frequently as a matter of convenience but the word mother represents the ultimate test. A man takes his seniority from his mother, consequently in a large clan it is only the sons of senior *nsumfumu* (mothers of chiefs) who can expect to get a chieftainship.

By senior I mean genealogically senior: that is, relative nearness to the mothers on the main vertical line to the left of the table and then closeness of position along the horizontal line of brothers and cousins of the same generation.

This point will become clearer as we go on. Succession is traced from *nsumfumu* to *nsumfumu* and the order of precedence is the order of the mother. The sons of a senior *nsumfumu* are senior to those of a junior *nsumfumu* although the sons of the latter may be older in years. The various branches of the clan each start with a woman whose brothers are royal

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food, and to protect his person and that of the sacred relics from the contagion of illness, death, or sex defilement.[1]

The ritual by which a successor to the chieftainship is converted from an ordinary individual to a ruler with almost divine powers, has a good deal of political importance. It confers authority on the priests—in this case hereditary officials (*bakabilo*) who carry it out—and gives them, as we shall see, considerable power to check the chief himself. The complete ritual by which the *umupashi* of a dead ruler is liberated to guard the land he governed, and the new heir is installed, is too complex to describe here and now. Briefly speaking, it consists of the desiccation of the body during a period of a year, from one kafir-corn harvest to the next; its burial in a special grove (with human sacrifices in the old days); and the building of a shrine on the site of the deserted capital. To make the new chief, *bakabilo* must preside at the installation of a new great wife, arrange for the sexual purification of the royal pair, and the lighting of their new sacred fire.[2] They must hand over to the heir the heirlooms (*babenye*) of which they have been in charge during the interregnum, and must finally found a new village and build again the sacred huts in which the relics are to be kept. Such a ceremonial may take eighteen months to two years and the participation of all the *bakabilo* and hereditary buriers (*bafingo*) in the case of the paramount; a lesser time and very many fewer priestly dignitaries in the case of the territorial chiefs. The secrecy and awe surrounding these ceremonies is, I believe, one of the ways by which the people's reverence for their chiefs is maintained.

(*b*) *Legal Rules of Descent and Succession.* Against this background of beliefs as to the continuity between one generation and another, the nature of descent and succession is defined exactly by legal rule. Descent in the royal family is reckoned to the time of first occupation of the country, and twenty-five to thirty Citimukulus are remembered. In the case of a territorial chief, the line of ancestors is not so long, and most are described as having been 'born in the country'. Most of the names honoured are those of men but some are those of women, and it seems that

[1] cf. my *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia* (1939), chap. xvii.

[2] Hence the importance of the great wife of the chief (*umukolo wa calo*) in the political life of the tribe and the belief that her behaviour also influences the welfare of the land.

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611 622 643 the first ancestress *to inhabit a new chiefdom*, or one who was a mother of numerous powerful sons and was thus able to found a new branch, could claim to be so respected.[1] But it is to the men holders of titles that most shrines are built.

[645] [767] The hereditary officials (*bahabilo*) also trace their descent to the first arrival for the most part, and tell stories which account for their right to the ritual offices they hold to-day, e.g. the *bafingo* who now bury the chief, claim to be the descendants of those who buried the first Citimukulus when on the march. This reckoning of descent to a definite epoch in history very clearly remembered is of service in maintaining the myth of absolute continuity of the chiefly lines. In actual fact, the present Citimukulu is a descendant of one Cileshye, who seized the throne from the occupier, Cincinta, only four generations back. This branch of usurpers is able to claim descent from the first Citimukulu all the same. The first ancestors are remembered very accurately and their sacred relics kept. The ensuing vagueness in the chain seems to be of no account.

602 622 In most types of succession whether to the name and spirit of a dead man or to his office, there are usually two or three potential heirs, and although there are certain rules of priority, it is practically never the case that there is one child known as heir to the chieftainship from birth and brought up as such, as occurs in those South African tribes in which the eldest son of the great wife must always succeed. A Bemba chief, or commoner, is succeeded by his brothers in order of age, next by his sister's children, and, failing them, by his maternal grandsons. Difficulties arise when there is a choice between an older classificatory 'brother', not a sibling, but possibly a mother's sister's son, or an even more distant 'brother' still, and a young man, a maternal nephew who is the child of the deceased's own sister, with whom, as we have seen, his ties are very close. Here the principles of primogeniture conflict with that of propinquity of kinship, in the case of a branch of a family that has been in existence for three or four generations, and it is probable that in these cases the nearest heir is appointed unless he is manifestly unsuitable, when the more distant 'brother'

[1] e.g. Bwalya Cabala, the first ancestress said to have been fetched from Lubaland by her brothers when the latter had occupied what is now Bembaland; or the Nakasafye, grandmother of the present Nkula, who is described as having started a new line, and was evidently a woman of great character as well as the mother of many sons.

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twelve uniformed messengers, *kapasas*, and for the rest they go short of service.

(*b*) *Military*. There was no general military organization in this tribe, but attached to each big court were one or two captains (*bashika*). Some of these were hereditary, with ritual functions connected with war magic, and others appointed at the chief's will. They now act as specially trusted messengers.

(*c*) *Judicial*. There is no fixed composition to a Bemba court, although its procedure is laid down by custom. At a small chief's court, the elderly men of the village attend, while the *bafilolo* act as advisers at the big *imisumba*. Cases go on appeal from sub-chief to chief, chief to paramount, and in the event of a case of extreme difficulty presenting itself, the Citimukulu can summon from their villages some of his hereditary priests or councillors, the *bakabilo* (cf. below). Witnesses are brought by each party to a case and are marshalled by the *bafilolo*. The senior man present claps as each point is made to mark the recognition of the court, and the chief himself finally sums up and gives judgement. The advisers speak when asked a point of precedent or law, and influence the chief's final decision by black looks or alternatively enthusiastic clappings of the hand.

(*d*) *Advisory*. There is no council or meeting of all the adult men of the tribe for special occasions, as among many Southern Bantu. Sub-chiefs have a panel of village elders and relatives to advise them, while the biggest territorial chiefs have hereditary officials who combine political and judicial with ritual functions. In the case of the paramount, these officials—the *bakabilo*—number between thirty-five and forty and form an advisory council on special matters of State. The *bakabilo* have been described as having descent as long as that of the chief himself in many cases and possess sacred relics in their own rights. The power of these relics is so strong that the Citimukulu is not permitted to pass through their villages for fear that one chieftainship should harm the other. *Bakabilo* are immune from tribute, wore special feather head-dresses in the old days, and even now claim special respect equal to that given to a chief when travelling about the country. They call themselves *Fwe Babemba* ('We, the Babemba'), may not leave the central territory (Lubemba) for long, must be buried within the royal district, and keep sex taboos similar to those of the chiefs. They succeed by a special accession

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ceremony and are buried according to particular rites. They are divided into groups according to the order of their ancestors arrival in the country, and each has a special office based on the privileges of his original ancestor, e.g. the care of the royal drum, the right to sit on a stool in the chief's presence, or the duty to call him in the morning by clapping outside his door.

The main duties of the *bakabilo* in native eyes are ritual, as has been described. They are in charge of the ceremonies at the sacred relic shrines and take possession of the *bakenye* when the chief dies. They alone can purify the chief from the defilement of sex intercourse so that he is able to enter his relic shrine and perform the necessary rites there. They are in complete charge of the accession ceremonies of the paramount and the bigger territorial chiefs, and some of their number are described as *bafingo*, or hereditary buriers of the chief. Besides this, each individual *mukabilo* has his own small ritual duty or privilege, such as lighting the sacred fire, or forging the blade of the hoe that is to dig the foundations of the new capital.

Besides their priestly duties, the *bakabilo* acted as regents at the death or absence of the chief, and any question of succession or other matter of tribal importance is placed before the *bakabilo*, and the big ceremonies I witnessed at the chief's capital were all made occasions of such discussions. The procedure is complex, but an effective method of deliberation. The paramount sends two special hereditary messengers, also *bakabilo*, to place the matter before the council. The senior members speak and if a difficulty arises they refer the matter to the head priest of the land, the Cimba, who sits apart with his own following, and gives decisions on matters of tribal precedent or suggests rewording decisions to be carried to the chief. Some of the discussion is carried on in archaic *cibemba*.

The importance of the *bakabilo's* council is the check it holds over the paramount's power. These are hereditary officials and therefore cannot be removed at will. Two or three of the *bakabilo* have been chased out of the country in the past for overweening pride, according to tradition, and the Cimba was removed from office in 1934, but only after the tribe had suffered for many years from the results of a species of megalomania to which he seemed to be subject. Otherwise the *bakabilo* are immune from the chief's anger and exert a salutary influence over him by refusing

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645 to perform the ritual functions that are necessary to the chief's state.[1]

Other advisory officials consist of the near relatives of the chief himself. These do not attend discussions as to succession to chieftainships, but are constantly informed of the progress of affairs. The paramount's mother and the Makassa (the eldest 'son of the chief') play an important part in this way. In the past senior members of the royal family seem to have intervened occasionally when some chief was behaving too outrageously, as, for instance, in the case of a sub-chief, Fyanifyani, apparently attacked by a sort of blood-lust. This man was removed from his office, according to history.

642 645 In brief, the Bemba system of government is not a democratic one in our sense of the word. The elder commoner has fewer rights to speak on tribal matters than have the Zulu, Swazi, or even some of the Sotho peoples. The affairs of the *icalo* are in the hands of a body of hereditary councillors whose offices and most of whose deliberations are secret. But I was impressed by the sense of tribal welfare which these *bakabilo* showed, and they were quite able to discuss and shrewdly adapt some old tribal precedent to modern conditions. Their strength, as regards tribal government at the present day, is their *esprit de corps* and sense of responsibility; their weakness, the fact that in the eyes of the people and the Government their function is mainly a ritual one.

VI. The Integration of the Tribe

619 The integration of the tribe depends chiefly on the sentiment of tribal cohesion and loyalty to the paramount, and the means by which the activities of the different districts are brought under one control in this widely dispersed group. The dogmas of kinship have been shown again and again to be the basis of tribal feeling and of the allegiance given to the territorial and paramount chiefs. In other Bantu tribes there is some tribe-wide organization such as the Nguni regiment system, that seems to act as an integrating force. There are also forms of public ceremonial at which all the adult men of the tribe are gathered, or all the warrior classes. The first-fruit ceremonies of the Swazi or of the Zulu in

[1] During 1934 I found the paramount living in grass huts. He was unable to build his new village because the *bakabilo*, indignant at his behaviour, refused to perform the foundation ceremony for the new community.

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the old days are an example. The big tribal councils of most of the African peoples described as being attended by 'every one' and in reality very large meetings, must also act as occasions when the loyalty of the tribe is fostered. Among the Bemba much of the tribal ritual is secret, as has been shown, and the advisory council is composed of what might be called an aristocratic caste. If the *bakabilo* meet in sitting on the open ground in the capital, as I have seen happen, they use archaic language on purpose, so that the common people cannot understand. It is no occasion for high-flown oratory or any of the demagogue's arts. On the other hand, the Bemba chiefs were formerly considered very nearly divine, and the belief in their supernatural powers is still strong enough to integrate the tribe. The sacredness of the royal ceremonial largely depends on its secrecy and the fact that only persons of the right descent can take their part in the ritual. The ordinary people do not attend the ceremonies except in the case of some inhabitants of the capital, but they value their secret nature and speak contemptuously of the Bisa and neighbouring tribes with less complex rites. The number of the *bakabilo*, each scattered through the chief's *icalo* and each with his own ritual function, sometimes secret from his own fellows, also adds to the strength of the whole ceremonial system. Each is insistent that *his* part is absolutely essential to the welfare of the tribe, and his own village is convinced to that effect, too. Another integrating factor is the belief in royal descent and presence in the society of such a large number of men and women who claim chiefly rank. These are dispersed all over the country, generally in charge of villages, and they naturally support the chiefs from whom they derive their power.

As regards the activities of the different *ifyalo*, it has been seen that these are self-contained units and there is no regular provision for regular meetings of *icalo* heads. They are linked by the overlordship of the paramount, who acts as judge of their court of appeal, and the different tiny states are bound together because of the close relationship between their different chiefs. Messengers constantly go from one court to another to inquire after family matters, the children of one chief are sent to be brought up at the capital of another, the chiefs themselves take office first in one *icalo* and then another, and even the Citimukulu takes no important step, ritual or political, without consulting his 'brothers', the big territorial heads.

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177 622 692 them evident signs of favour bestowed by the new policy on their rulers. As we saw, the judicial machinery of the Bemba never really disappeared with the institution of white courts, but the legal recognition of the chiefs' courts by the 1929 Ordinance certainly increased the latter's status tremendously. Successive Government reports have described the new native courts as functioning well, while few charges of excessive fines or hearing fees have been made against the chiefs. Such complaints as I heard seemed to come mainly from educated natives belonging to other areas, particularly from Nyasaland, who found themselves subject for the first time to Bemba law. In the legislative field, determined efforts were made by the district officials to restore the self-confidence of the native authorities and to encourage them, not only to resume functions of government they had lost, but also to take on new tasks, such as the issue of orders as to hygiene, &c. In fact, as regards the personal position of the Bemba chiefs, it may be said that there was a gradual increase in status due to Government support, added to a respect and fear which had never been entirely lost. Their power is in many ways surprising, in view of their poverty, their lack of means to enforce any decisions taken, and the presence in their territories of other authorities in command of their subjects and in particular of large numbers of Christians bound by codes that are not recognized in the chiefs' courts.[1]

177 622 642 645 Apart from the chief's own position, it is necessary to review the political system as a whole. How far was the old machinery of Government re-established by the introduction of the 1929 Ordinances? And, more important still, is such a machinery adapted to the new needs of the tribe? The answer to the first question is a decided, 'No'. The whole balance of authority has been altered, partly by the changed economic position of the chief and partly by lack of Government recognition. We saw that the executive and judicial officials on whom the chief relied were kept together by hope of rewards and food and in some cases in virtue of their religious functions. Nowadays the chief is less able to feed his councillors, principally owing to the decay of the tribute labour system. He does not consider himself obliged to distribute

[1] Some missionary societies have followed the Government policy and have invited chiefs to take a part in school education committees, &c.; others have viewed any increase in the chief's authority as a retrograde step.

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money in the same way as food, and in any case has not sufficient to enable him to reward his people adequately. So that at a time when he is asked to take on new functions of administration his following is becoming smaller and smaller. I have seen Citimukulu hearing cases alone with his paid clerk and watched the *bakabilo* melting away during the midst of the discussion of important matters owing to want of food. This makes an impossible situation which may be changed for the better by the greater measure of financial control which the Government has recently granted to the native authorities,[1] though the sums now allotted to native treasuries are small, and lack of funds has always prevented the compensation of chiefs for the lack of their tribute labour and other perquisites that has occurred in Nigeria, Barotseland, and elsewhere.

Government recognition of the political organization of the tribe and its purposeful adaptation to modern conditions is also essential at the present time. Apart from the economic breakdown at the chiefs' courts which has just been indicated, much of the trouble has been due to the fact that no serious investigation of the judicial, executive, and advisory machinery of Government was made in the first instance. Chiefs were constituted as authorities with little study of the way in which their orders were to be enforced. They were listed as 'members of court', but, though headmen and council were mentioned as eligible to sit on such courts, the presence of the latter was not apparently compulsory. The *bakabilo's* important advisory functions as a tribal council and a potential regency council were not recognized until anthropological research in the area had been made.[1] The unfortunate result was that the chief felt free to act without this former check on his power and openly expressed to me his delight in the fact. The councillors, on the other hand, felt discouraged, and declared: 'The Government likes the chiefs. It does not listen to us, the *Babemba*.' Hence a political system that could never have been described as democratic now provides less check than ever on the chief's authority.

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The difficulty from an administrative point of view is evident. Here is a system of political authority based largely on hereditary ritual privilege. To abandon the *bakabilo* council is to do without a body of men with strong traditions of government and a sense of

[1] Twenty-five of the *bakabilo* are now given £1 a year (see *Report* cited, p. 144).